



# AMERICAN OBSERVER

News and Issues—With Pros and Cons

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER 23, 1961

## 16TH BIRTHDAY OF UNITED NATIONS

### Global Organization Is Now Confronted by Gravest Crisis

In observance of United Nations Day on October 24 (16th anniversary of the UN's establishment), we are focusing attention on the global organization.

**N**EVER in the 16 years of its existence has the United Nations faced a period of graver crisis than it does today.

On solution of the Berlin problem teeters the issue of peace or war. Of scarcely less seriousness are such problems as disarmament and nuclear testing, stability in the Congo, and Red pressures in Asia.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is continuing its drive to get control of the UN, or, if that fails, to make the world organization completely ineffective. The untimely death of UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in an airplane crash last month gave Moscow an unexpected opportunity to press its attack.

The challenge confronting the United Nations was stated by President Kennedy in these words last month when he appeared before the General Assembly:

"The events and decisions of the next 10 months may well decide the fate of man for the next 10,000 years. . . . We in this hall shall be remembered either as part of the generation that turned this planet into a flaming funeral pyre or the generation that met its vow 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.'"

### UN's ORIGIN

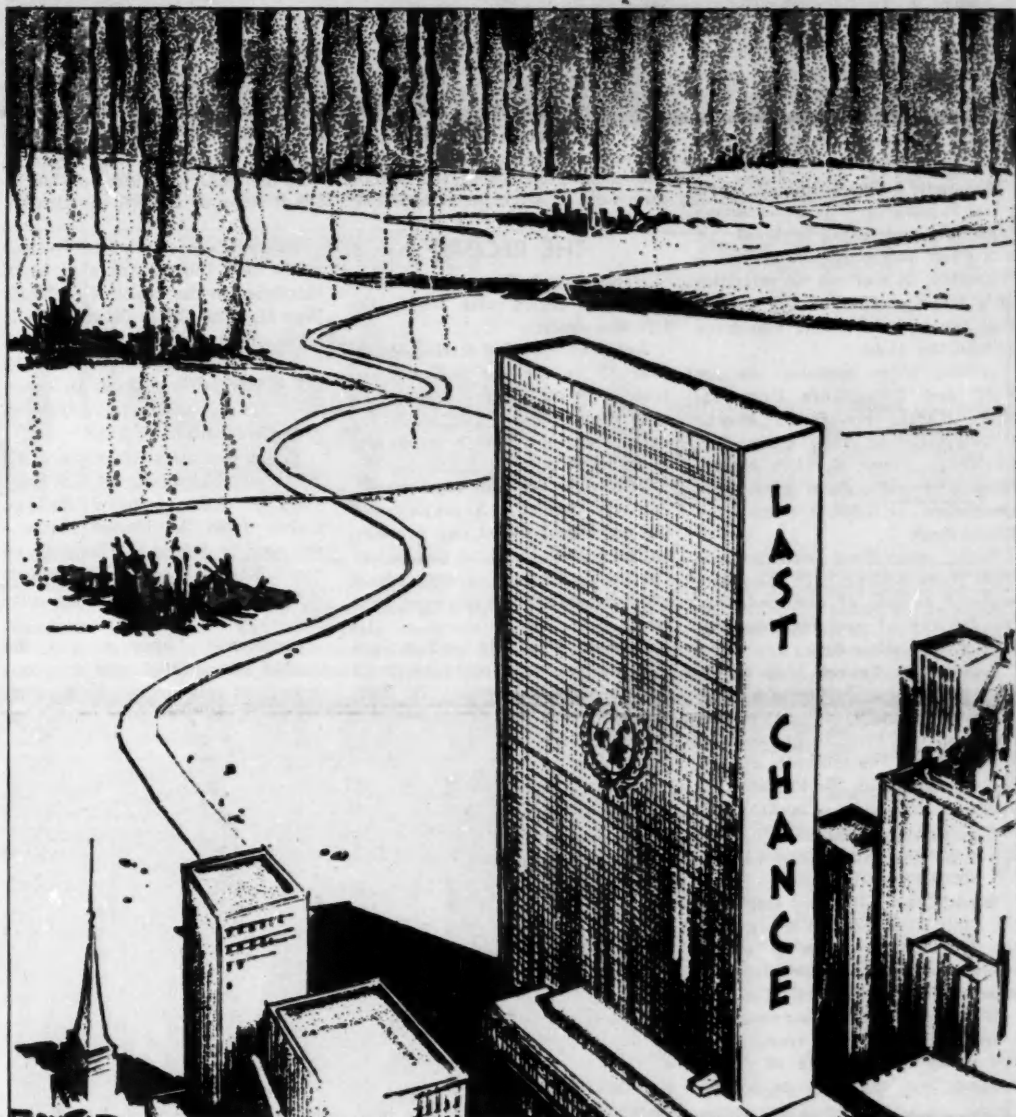
During World War II (1939-45), allied leaders became convinced that a collective effort must be made to prevent future armed struggles among nations. Actual writing of a rough draft of the UN Charter was begun seriously at the Dumbarton Oaks mansion in Washington, D.C., in 1944.

The following spring the allied nations met at San Francisco, and in 2 months of hard work hammered out the final version of the Charter. On October 24, 1945, the United Nations came fully into existence.

### ITS SETUP

The UN has 6 main divisions. They are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice (World Court), and the Secretariat.

**General Assembly.** Sometimes called "the town meeting of the



CORRAD IN DENVER POST

"NEVER have the nations of the world had so much to lose or so much to gain. Together we shall save our planet or together we shall perish in its flames."—President Kennedy in recent address to UN Assembly.

world," this group is composed of representatives from all member nations. Today the UN has 101 members as compared to 51 when the organization was first set up.

Each delegation—consisting of up to 5 persons—has 1 vote. (Since 2 Russian states, Byelorussia and Ukraine, hold seats just as though they were separate countries, the Soviet Union actually has 3 Assembly votes.) A two-thirds majority of all ballots cast is required on major issues.

The Assembly can hold discussions and make recommendations on practically any international problem or issue. Moreover, it can send investigating committees to trouble spots.

In extreme cases, the Assembly can urge members to take military or other measures against countries that commit aggression. But it has no power to enforce its decisions.

Nevertheless, this body does a great deal to focus world attention on critical issues. Through the years, the General Assembly has grown more and more important within the UN structure. Meanwhile, the Security Council—which was originally intended to be the leading agency—has often bogged down.

**Security Council.** This group is composed of delegates from 11 member nations. Five of these countries hold permanent seats on the Council. They are the United States, the Soviet Union, Great

Britain, France, and Nationalist China (Taiwan).

The remaining 6 are elected for 2-year terms. At present, the non-permanent members are Chile, Ecuador, Liberia, Ceylon, Turkey, and the United Arab Republic (formerly composed of Egypt and Syria). Even though the United Arab Republic was split by a rebellion in Syria, it still holds a Security Council seat, which is filled by an Egyptian.

The Council is supposed to investigate any situation that endangers world peace, to recommend solutions, and to call on members for action against nations that ignore its decisions.

However, passage of a resolution in the Security Council can be blocked by the negative vote of a single permanent member. This "veto power" has, in most cases,

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Since most of this special issue is devoted to the United Nations, certain regular articles and features have been omitted. They will be resumed next week.

# World Body

(Continued from page 1)

paralyzed the 11-member agency.

Nevertheless, it has sent troops to the Middle East and the Congo, and it was able to send an army to Korea because Russia was then boycotting the Council and was thus not present to veto the action. But the Council has never sent troops to a country unless the government in power at the time approved the move.

In recent years, a procedure has developed whereby serious international problems are turned over to the General Assembly when a deadlock develops in the Security Council.

**Economic & Social Council.** This group is made up of representatives from 18 countries, each chosen for a 3-year term by the General Assembly. It oversees the activities of a large number of UN groups that try to raise living standards around the globe.

Among these agencies are the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); the World Health Organization (WHO); the UN Children's Fund; the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); and the World Bank.

Other specialized agencies include those dealing with the international aspects of civil aviation, the delivery of mail, and the collecting of weather data.

**Trusteeship Council.** It supervises the governing of certain areas that once belonged to nations defeated in the First or the Second World War. For example, a number of islands in the Pacific, formerly under Japanese control, are now U.S. "trust territories." They are administered by America under UN direction.

**World Court.** Officially known as the International Court of Justice, the World Court consists of 15 judges chosen by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

If nations have disagreements over the meaning of treaty provisions or other points of international law, they can go to the World Court for a decision. Countries are not compelled to submit their disputes to this body; but if they do so voluntarily, they must agree to obey the Court.

**The Secretariat.** This is the name given to the UN office staff. Its messengers, clerks, secretaries, interpreters, economists, and others look after the many details involved in the operation of the United Nations.

The more than 4,400 employees of the Secretariat come from all parts of the world. This agency is normally headed by a Secretary-General, who has more power than any other official of the UN. We shall examine later the controversy over a successor to Dag Hammarskjöld, the Swedish diplomat who served as Secretary-General from 1953 until the time of his death last month.



UN CHARTER was drafted at a 1945 conference in the San Francisco Opera House (in background) and Veterans' Building. The international organization came into existence on October 24 of the same year, after the necessary number of countries had taken formal steps to approve its Charter.

## THE RECORD

Here is a list of some of the more important crises with which the UN has dealt:

**Iran** was occupied during World War II by British and Russian troops. British forces departed in 1946 in compliance with an earlier agreement, but Soviet troops refused to withdraw.

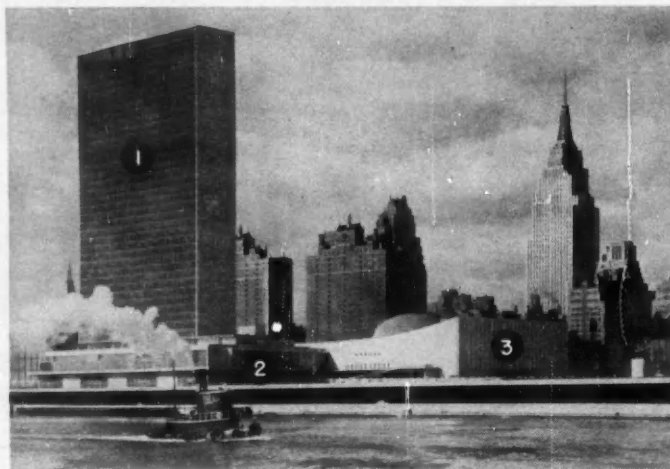
Iran took its complaint to the Security Council. A majority of the members used strong pressure on the Soviet Union to pull out of the Middle Eastern country. Soon after, Russian forces withdrew from Iran.

**Kashmir**, a state in the Himalaya Mountains, was once part of British-controlled India. In 1947, British India was divided into 2

**Indonesia**, formerly the Netherlands East Indies, was a scene of bloodshed in the years after World War II. The Dutch fought to hold their colony, while the Indonesians struggled to obtain freedom. The UN finally brought about an agreement under which Indonesia became independent in 1949.

**Korea** was the scene of the UN's first combat struggle. A UN army—drawn from member nations, mainly from the United States—was sent to defend the Republic of South Korea in June 1950 when it was attacked by forces from communist North Korea.

Communist China entered the conflict late in 1950, and was condemned as an aggressor by the UN. An armistice went into effect in



MAJOR DECISIONS of the UN today are made here in these modern structures in New York City: (1) Secretariat (office) building; (2) Conference Area building, where Security Council meets; (3) the Assembly building. Skyscraper at right is Empire State; East River in foreground.

independent nations, the Republics of India and Pakistan. Both claimed control of Kashmir, which lies between them. Fighting broke out in the disputed region during 1948. The UN stepped in to halt the armed conflict.

A final solution has not yet been found, but it is felt that the Kashmir conflict might have been much more serious if the UN had not taken action. Relations between India and Pakistan have improved a great deal since 1948.

July 1953. South Korea remains an independent republic, but the UN has not been able to bring about a final settlement on the 2 Koreas.

**Hungary** revolted against communist rule in the fall of 1956. Soviet forces put down the rebellion with great cruelty.

The United Nations could not intervene without risking a new world war. The General Assembly, though, has strongly denounced Russia on several occasions for its actions in Hungary.

Middle East problems have occupied the global organization on several occasions. In 1949, the United Nations brought about a truce in fighting between Israel and surrounding Arab states. The conflict had broken out the year before.

In 1956 the General Assembly called a halt to a French-British-Israeli invasion of Egypt. The French and British launched their attack after Egypt's President Nasser seized all property belonging to the Suez Canal Company (of which France and Britain were main stockholders). Israel—long troubled by border raids from Egypt—invaded that country several days before the British and French did.

A UN Emergency Force supervised a withdrawal of armies. This force is still on police duty in the area.

In 1958, during the summer, the entire Middle East seemed on the verge of a major explosion. A civil war raged in Lebanon. King Faisal of Iraq was assassinated and his government ousted. President Nasser was calling for the overthrow of King Hussein of neighboring Jordan.

British troops rushed to protect Jordan, while American forces entered Lebanon at the request of officials there. A UN fact-finding team was also sent to Lebanon to investigate.

After stormy debate in the General Assembly, the Arab nations agreed to respect one another's political rights. Since the passage of that resolution, the Middle East has been relatively quiet.

The Congo became the scene of turmoil in the summer of 1960 after receiving its freedom from Belgium. At the request of Congo's leaders, a UN force was rushed to that land, and more than a year later, it is still there. This problem will be treated further in the following section.

## CURRENT ISSUES

Among the 95 subjects to come before the UN this fall are Berlin, disarmament including nuclear testing, Red China, the Congo, and whether the Secretariat should be headed by one man or a committee.

Additional matters up for discussion include Angola, Arab-Israeli differences in the Middle East, the uses of outer space, conditions in South Africa, Russian intervention in Hungary in 1956, and many others.

## WEST BERLIN

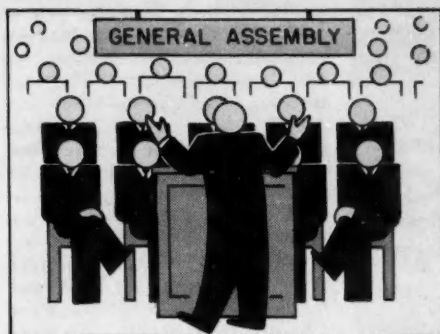
Though the Berlin problem was not actually on the agenda (program) when the General Assembly convened, no issue has been talked about more behind the scenes at UN headquarters.

Member nations are keenly concerned over the situation in the former German capital because if strife should break out, it might well spread into a global conflict.

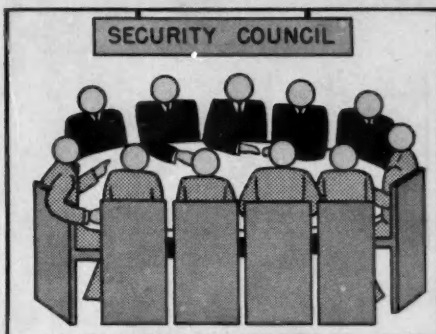
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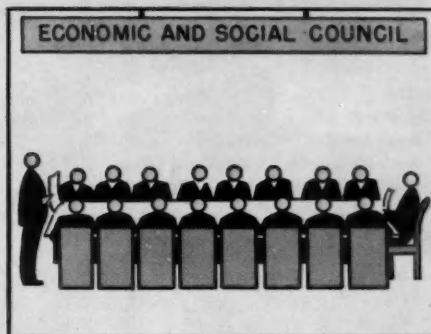
# MAIN BRANCHES OF THE UNITED NATIONS



Each country may have 5 delegates, but only 1 vote. Debates world issues and proposes solutions. When vetoes stall action in Security Council, Assembly seeks to make decisions; but nations can't be forced to follow recommendations.

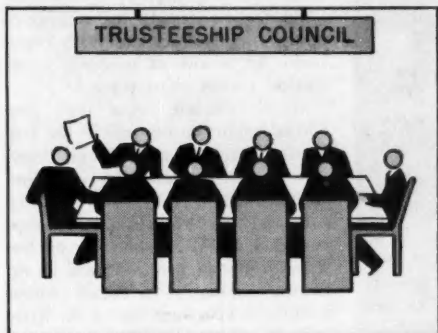


Has 5 permanent members—U. S., Britain, Russia, France, Nationalist China—plus 6 members elected by Assembly for 2-year terms. Council investigates peace threats, can ask UN action against aggressors. Vetoes often prevent decisions.



Has 18 members elected by the Assembly for 3-year terms—with 6 of the 18 being voted on each year. Works through UN groups dealing with such matters as health, food, and education in attempt to improve standards of living.

DRAWN FOR AMERICAN OBSERVER BY JOAN ALDER



Delegates of Security Council's permanent members, nations that govern territories, and others named by Assembly for 3-year terms. Members now total 13. Directs governing of lands taken from nations defeated in World Wars I and II.





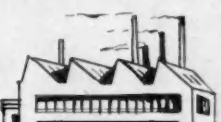

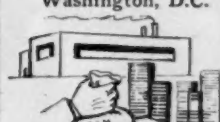


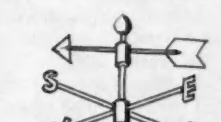


Has 15 judges from different countries, elected by Security Council and General Assembly for terms of 9 years. Can decide only cases voluntarily submitted to it by governments that are involved in certain types of international disputes.



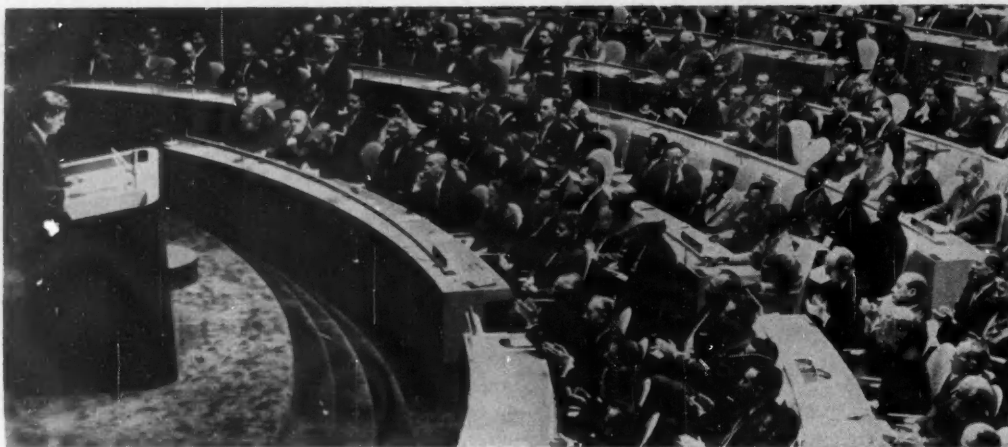
As UN's "office staff," it compiles reports and does many other jobs. Normally headed by Secretary-General, though office was left vacant by death of Dag Hammarskjöld, who took active part in efforts to settle dangerous world controversies.

DRAWN FOR AMERICAN OBSERVER BY JOAN ALDER

## TEN OTHER AGENCIES OF THE WORLD BODY

WHO	FAO	ILO	UNESCO	BANK
<b>WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION</b> Geneva, Switzerland 	<b>FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION</b> Rome, Italy 	<b>INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION</b> Geneva, Switzerland 	<b>UN EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION</b> Paris, France 	<b>INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT</b> Washington, D.C. 
<b>GOAL:</b> To improve world health. <b>WORK:</b> Performs research. Broadcasts warnings of diseases. Campaigns against specific diseases. Trains health workers. Standardizes descriptions of medicines.	<b>GOAL:</b> To raise level of food supply and nutrition. <b>WORK:</b> Develops soil and water resources. Promotes exchange of new plants and farming techniques. Fights plant and animal diseases.	<b>GOAL:</b> To improve labor standards. <b>WORK:</b> Reports on working conditions. Recommends standards for wages, hours, and other labor interests. Advises governments on labor laws and programs.	<b>GOAL:</b> To advance education and mutual understanding. <b>WORK:</b> Combats illiteracy. Promotes compulsory education. Encourages cultural and scientific exchanges.	<b>GOAL:</b> To aid development through international investment. <b>WORK:</b> Studies economic needs of countries. Encourages foreign private investment. Makes loans from its own funds.
ICAO	ITU	WMO	IAEA	UNICEF
<b>INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION</b> Montreal, Canada 	<b>INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION</b> Geneva, Switzerland 	<b>WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION</b> Geneva, Switzerland 	<b>INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY</b> Vienna, Austria 	<b>UN CHILDREN'S FUND</b> New York City 
<b>GOAL:</b> To improve standards for civil aviation. <b>WORK:</b> Encourages safety measures and uniform regulations. Promotes new techniques and equipment. Simplifies international flight.	<b>GOAL:</b> To regulate and develop world telegraph, telephone, and radio services. <b>WORK:</b> Promotes cooperation in using and improving technical facilities and in lowering rates. Helps to assign radio frequencies.	<b>GOAL:</b> To assist international collection and exchange of weather data. <b>WORK:</b> Provides technical information and assistance. Seeks to have nations use uniform methods in gathering and publishing weather facts.	<b>GOAL:</b> To encourage peaceful uses of atomic energy. <b>WORK:</b> Surveys possible uses of atomic energy and problems of training in nuclear technology.	<b>GOAL:</b> To promote child health and welfare. <b>WORK:</b> Provides emergency aid in times of catastrophe. Plans child welfare programs and trains help. Supplies basic medical and dairying equipment, drugs, vitamins, and powdered milk.

COUNTRIES COOPERATE—through these organizations—to promote better living conditions for men, women, and children in all parts of the world



PRESIDENT KENNEDY stating America's position in an address before the General Assembly



A TYPICAL MEETING of the Security Council, 11-nation group that is often in the news spotlight



INTERNATIONAL COURT of Justice is shown in session at its headquarters in The Hague, Netherlands

## United Nations

(Continued from page 2)

If Russia goes ahead with its plans to make a separate peace treaty with communist East Germany, then the latter may take further steps to put pressure on free West Berlin and force the western powers out of the city. The western nations declare they will resist any such action.

One suggestion as a possible basis for negotiation is that West Berlin become an international city to which several of the UN agencies would be shifted on a permanent basis.

### DISARMAMENT

The new U. S. program which President Kennedy presented to the General Assembly last month calls for step-by-step reduction of arms—including nuclear weapons—with the goal of total disarmament. It

would set up a "foolproof" inspection system to see that each country was actually carrying out its promise to disarm. It would give the UN and the neutral nations a major role in supervising the reduction of armaments throughout the world.

We want to begin with an agreement for ending nuclear tests. Since the greatest danger is from nuclear war, U. S. officials say that we should concentrate, as a starter, on control of nuclear weapons. They declare that inspectors must check this step, as well as later ones.

The Russians say they want total disarmament of both nuclear weapons and other types of arms right away. They say they are willing to have inspection, but have not made clear under what conditions they would permit it. They claim that western proposals for inspection of nuclear disarmament first would permit spying on other types of weapons.

### RED CHINA ISSUE

Whether to admit the Chinese communist regime to the UN has been on the agenda since 1950, but in past years full discussion of the subject has always been postponed.

This year, U. S. officials have agreed for the first time that the subject be debated in the Assembly. Their tactics, however, are directed at (1) either having a UN committee study the issue for another year, or (2) having the question decided by a two-thirds (rather than a simple) majority if it is voted upon this session. The Assembly can decide whether the vote shall be by a simple or two-thirds majority.

A number of the nations now willing to admit the Red Chinese government to the UN agree that it has an extremely bad record; that it rules its own people with an iron fist; that it is not a "peace-loving state" (a requirement for UN membership); that it would

probably equal or surpass Russia as a troublemaker.

At the same time, these nations argue that there is no hope of ever working out a world-wide disarmament agreement or keeping the Red Chinese rulers in line without bringing them into the UN.

Our country, along with others that agree with us on this issue, maintains that it would destroy all confidence in the international organization if China's Reds were admitted before they stop their aggressive and warlike actions. To bring them in now, it is argued, would strengthen their prestige and influence throughout Asia, and make them an even greater menace than they are now.

According to this point of view, China's membership in the UN should be considered *only* if the leaders of that country indicate beyond doubt that they are willing to settle their differences with other lands by means of peaceful negotiation rather than force.

U. S. officials know that Red China cannot be kept out of the UN by use of the Security Council veto. New countries must be approved for membership by the Security Council, but China is already represented in the world body by the Taiwan government. It will be up to the Assembly to decide which group—the Nationalists or the Reds—shall represent China in that body.

### THE CONGO

This African region is still a major trouble spot for the UN. Last month, UN troops there were dispatched to the southern province of Katanga with the authority to use force, if necessary, in bringing control of that rebellious area under the central Congolese government.

The advance produced sharp resistance from Katanga's forces, and a cease-fire was worked out. Katanga still resists any control from the Congo's government.

Russia and its communist satellites opposed the Congo operation from the moment it became evident that the UN was not going to let Moscow have its own way in taking over the African region. France has also been highly critical of the Congo undertaking. Some countries which have generally supported the operation feel that the UN went too far in trying to subdue the Katangans by force.

The United States has backed the attempt to stabilize the Congo. Our leaders feel that this trouble spot must be eliminated quickly.

### SECRETARY-GENERAL

A major issue this fall involves the post of Secretary-General, vacated when Dag Hammarskjöld was killed.

Because they could not control Hammarskjöld, the Russians had refused to have any dealings with him for about a year before his death. Meanwhile, they had waged a campaign to eliminate the post of Secretary-General and have it replaced by a committee of 3 men.

Under the Soviet proposal, the committee would consist of 1 man from the western nations, 1 from the communist countries, and 1 from the neutral lands. All 3 would





PAKISTAN. A doctor on the job for World Health Organization.



INDIA. International Labor Organization expert teaches welding.



THAILAND. A worker from Food and Agriculture Organization.



LIBERIA. UNESCO instructor with one of his students.

have to agree before the UN could take action on a specific problem. This proposal has become widely known as the "troika" plan, named for a Russian team of 3 horses.

The United States opposes the troika plan. It would, in effect, bring the veto into the Secretariat, and would make the rest of the UN just as ineffective as the Security Council. Action would be impossible on any issue where the communist lands and free-world nations failed to agree.

In the face of widespread opposition to the troika plan from both western countries and neutral nations, the Soviet Union later indicated it would accept a single Secretary-General, providing he had from 3 to 7 deputy secretaries—representing communist, western, and neutral lands. On any specific issue, the Secretary-General could—said Moscow—make his own decision, but he would be expected "to listen to the views of his chief assistants first."

U.S. officials think this is nothing more than a thinly disguised veto system. They say:

"If there are to be deputies, they should represent geographical areas (for example, North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa) rather than conflicting groups of nations in the cold war. Moreover, these deputies must not have the power to block action by

the Secretary-General. The latter must have real authority to direct the work of the UN, as Mr. Hammarskjöld did."

As these words are written, an attempt is being made to choose an Acting Secretary-General to fill out the unexpired part of Mr. Hammarskjöld's term, which will end in 1963. A leading candidate for the post seems to be U Thant, Burma's representative to the UN. Whether agreement can be reached on Mr. Hammarskjöld's successor and the powers of his office, however, remains to be seen.

### UN FINANCES

The regular annual budget amounts to about \$70,000,000. This goes mainly for "housekeeping" expenses—maintaining the organization's headquarters, buying supplies, paying salaries, etc.

The United States pays about one-third of the regular budget, while the Soviet Union pays about one-sixth.

However, the regular budget does not include the cost for the specialized agencies or for certain special undertakings. The Congo operation, for example, has averaged \$10,000,000 a month in costs. The United States has footed most of the bill for this 14-month project. Russia and the other communist lands have not paid a cent of the bill, nor has France.

The program for Middle East refugees costs about \$34,000,000 a year. More than 90% of the funds are provided by the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. The communist countries have never contributed to this program.

As of October 1, the unpaid bills of the United Nations totaled more than \$118,000,000—almost 3 times the debt of a year ago. Some observers actually fear that the world organization will be overwhelmed by financial bankruptcy.

The failure of certain nations to pay their share because they do not agree with UN actions has been called the "financial veto." It is feared by some that this weapon—in the long run—may be more likely to wreck the world body than the Security Council veto.

*The opinions of Americans on the value of the United Nations differ sharply. In the remainder of this article, we summarize the views of those who are highly critical of the UN and the feelings of those who strongly support the organization.*

### WHAT CRITICS SAY

This organization has failed to achieve the orderly, peaceful world for which it was set up. It has become a debating society where the great problems of the times are argued endlessly but are not solved.



UN FLAG: white design on blue



WESTERN and Red nations are competing for the neutrals' support

Meanwhile, the authority of the United States in the world organization is steadily declining. When the UN was set up in 1945, most of its 51 members sided with us, but today we are frequently outvoted as many of the new, small nations spurn our leadership.

In the General Assembly, we are confronted with an intolerable situation where tiny, underdeveloped countries with fewer than 1,000,000 people each have as much voting power as we do with 180,000,000 people and a highly advanced industrial economy.

At the same time, we are bearing the brunt of the financial burden. Our contribution is nearly 10 times that of Russia. And while we pay the bills, Moscow uses the United Nations as a platform for spreading communist propaganda. Where else could she so monopolize the headlines as she does through the UN?

Such a strong internationalist as Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has come to the conclusion that America must look outside the UN to safeguard its interests. He says the global organization has become a cold war battleground, and advocates cultivating closer ties with the nations of Western Europe—and to a lesser extent with other non-communist lands—to insure peace and safety. Certainly we can't rely on the UN to safeguard our interests.

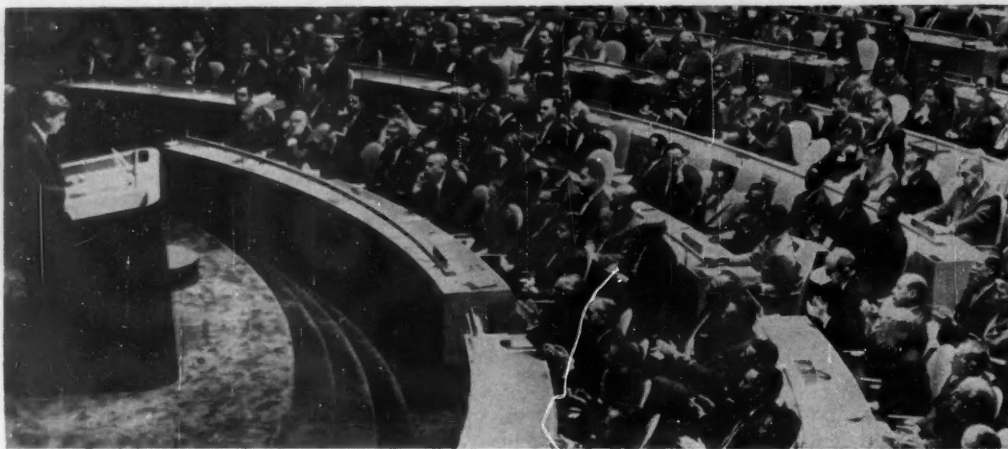
### SUPPORTERS REPLY

It can't solve every problem—any more than nations or individuals can—but it has compiled a good record. There is not much doubt that global war would have erupted long ago had it not been for UN efforts in the Middle East, the Congo, and elsewhere. Criticism of the UN comes mostly from those who expected the impossible from it.

Though debate may seem endless at times, it is certainly preferable to war. The existence of the United Nations as a place for bringing differences gains time for tempers to cool and for negotiation to get under way.

We must not be alarmed because small nations have equal voting power with us in the General Assembly. The UN structure compares in some ways with our own Congress where all the states have equal voting power in the Senate but the larger states have more

(Concluded on page 6)



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### THE CONGO

This African region is still a major trouble spot for the UN. Last month, UN troops there were dispatched to the southern province of Katanga with the authority to use force, if necessary, in bringing control of that rebellious area under the central Congolese government.

The advance produced sharp resistance from Katanga's forces, and a cease-fire was worked out. Katanga still resists any control from the Congo's government.

Russia and its communist satellites opposed the Congo operation from the moment it became evident that the UN was not going to let Moscow have its own way in taking over the African region. France has also been highly critical of the Congo undertaking. Some countries which have generally supported the operation feel that the UN went too far in trying to subdue the Katangans by force.

The United States has backed the attempt to stabilize the Congo. Our leaders feel that this trouble spot must be eliminated quickly.

### SECRETARY-GENERAL

A major issue this fall involves the post of Secretary-General, vacated when Dag Hammarskjöld was killed.

Because they could not control Hammarskjöld, the Russians had refused to have any dealings with him for about a year before his death. Meanwhile, they had waged a campaign to eliminate the post of Secretary-General and have it replaced by a committee of 3 men.

Under the Soviet proposal, the committee would consist of 1 man from the western nations, 1 from the communist countries, and 1 from the neutral lands. All 3 would





WIDE WORLD

PAKISTAN. A doctor on the job for World Health Organization.



UNITED NATIONS

INDIA. International Labor Organization expert teaches welding.



UNITED NATIONS

THAILAND. A worker from Food and Agriculture Organization.



UNITED NATIONS

LIBERIA. UNESCO instructor with one of his students.

have to agree before the UN could take action on a specific problem. This proposal has become widely known as the "troika" plan, named for a Russian team of 3 horses.

The United States opposes the troika plan. It would, in effect, bring the veto into the Secretariat, and would make the rest of the UN just as ineffective as the Security Council. Action would be impossible on any issue where the communist lands and free-world nations failed to agree.

In the face of widespread opposition to the troika plan from both western countries and neutral nations, the Soviet Union later indicated it would accept a single Secretary-General, providing he had from 3 to 7 deputy secretaries—representing communist, western, and neutral lands. On any specific issue, the Secretary-General could—said Moscow—make his own decision, but he would be expected "to listen to the views of his chief assistants first."

U.S. officials think this is nothing more than a thinly disguised veto system. They say:

"If there are to be deputies, they should represent geographical areas (for example, North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa) rather than conflicting groups of nations in the cold war. Moreover, these deputies must not have the power to block action by

the Secretary-General. The latter must have real authority to direct the work of the UN, as Mr. Hammarskjöld did."

As these words are written, an attempt is being made to choose an Acting Secretary-General to fill out the unexpired part of Mr. Hammarskjöld's term, which will end in 1963. A leading candidate for the post seems to be U Thant, Burma's representative to the UN. Whether agreement can be reached on Mr. Hammarskjöld's successor and the powers of his office, however, remains to be seen.

### UN FINANCES

The regular annual budget amounts to about \$70,000,000. This goes mainly for "housekeeping" expenses—maintaining the organization's headquarters, buying supplies, paying salaries, etc.

The United States pays about one-third of the regular budget, while the Soviet Union pays about one-sixth.

However, the regular budget does not include the cost for the specialized agencies or for certain special undertakings. The Congo operation, for example, has averaged \$10,000,000 a month in costs. The United States has footed most of the bill for this 14-month project. Russia and the other communist lands have not paid a cent of the bill, nor has France.

The program for Middle East refugees costs about \$34,000,000 a year. More than 90% of the funds are provided by the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. The communist countries have never contributed to this program.

As of October 1, the unpaid bills of the United Nations totaled more than \$118,000,000—almost 3 times the debt of a year ago. Some observers actually fear that the world organization will be overwhelmed by financial bankruptcy.

The failure of certain nations to pay their share because they do not agree with UN actions has been called the "financial veto." It is feared by some that this weapon—in the long run—may be more likely to wreck the world body than the Security Council veto.

*The opinions of Americans on the value of the United Nations differ sharply. In the remainder of this article, we summarize the views of those who are highly critical of the UN and the feelings of those who strongly support the organization.*

### WHAT CRITICS SAY

This organization has failed to achieve the orderly, peaceful world for which it was set up. It has become a debating society where the great problems of the times are argued endlessly but are not solved.



SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

UN FLAG: white design on blue



TALBURT IN WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

WESTERN and Red nations are competing for the neutrals' support

Meanwhile, the authority of the United States in the world organization is steadily declining. When the UN was set up in 1945, most of its 51 members sided with us, but today we are frequently outvoted as many of the new, small nations spurn our leadership.

In the General Assembly, we are confronted with an intolerable situation where tiny, underdeveloped countries with fewer than 1,000,000 people each have as much voting power as we do with 180,000,000 people and a highly advanced industrial economy.

At the same time, we are bearing the brunt of the financial burden. Our contribution is nearly 10 times that of Russia. And while we pay the bills, Moscow uses the United Nations as a platform for spreading communist propaganda. Where else could she so monopolize the headlines as she does through the UN?

Such a strong internationalist as Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has come to the conclusion that America must look outside the UN to safeguard its interests. He says the global organization has become a cold war battleground, and advocates cultivating closer ties with the nations of Western Europe—and to a lesser extent with other non-communist lands—to insure peace and safety. Certainly we can't rely on the UN to safeguard our interests.

### SUPPORTERS REPLY

It can't solve every problem—any more than nations or individuals can—but it has compiled a good record. There is not much doubt that global war would have erupted long ago had it not been for UN efforts in the Middle East, the Congo, and elsewhere. Criticism of the UN comes mostly from those who expected the impossible from it.

Though debate may seem endless at times, it is certainly preferable to war. The existence of the United Nations as a place for bringing differences gains time for tempers to cool and for negotiation to get under way.

We must not be alarmed because small nations have equal voting power with us in the General Assembly. The UN structure compares in some ways with our own Congress where all the states have equal voting power in the Senate but the larger states have more

(Concluded on page 6)

LINEUP OF MEMBERS BY REGIONS	
<b>AFRICA</b>  27  Members	All independent African nations except Mauritania belong to UN. Most of them claim to be neutral; but, so far, a majority has voted with us on important matters such as Congo crisis. Future course to be taken by these countries is uncertain.
<b>ASIA</b>  24	Lands outside the UN are Red China, Kuwait, Mongolian Republic, North and South Korea, North and South Viet Nam. Certain UN members in Asia, such as the Philippines, Japan, and Pakistan, are generally pro-western. Others, such as India and Indonesia, are "neutral"—sometimes supporting West and sometimes Red bloc.
<b>WESTERN HEMISPHERE</b>  22	All independent nations of the Americas are UN members. All pro-West except Cuba, which is in Red camp.
<b>WESTERN EUROPE</b>  15	Switzerland and West Germany are the only sizable countries not in UN. As to members: Austria, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden are officially neutral though strongly democratic. In general, West Europe members vote against Reds on disputed issues.
<b>EASTERN EUROPE</b>  11	East Germany is only nation outside UN. As to members: Greece is pro-West; Yugoslavia is communist, but not Moscow-controlled. Others belong to Soviet bloc.

UN MEMBERS totaled 101 as of October 15. Besides the above groups there are 2 other members—Australia and New Zealand—both pro-western. Certain nations cited as non-members may have come into the world organization by the time this paper reaches its readers.



Mongi Slim  
Tunisia



A. Stevenson  
United States



Sir Patrick Dean  
Britain



Armand Bérard  
France



Valerian Zorin  
Russia



Tingfu Tsiang  
China



DEPT. OF STATE



BIS



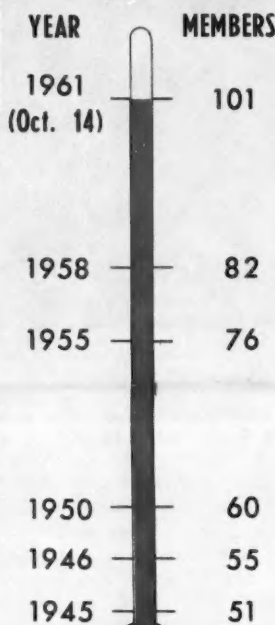
SOVFOOT

THREE OFFICIALS who play important roles in the shaping of UN decisions. Left to right: U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, British Foreign Secretary Lord Home, and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.



DRAWN FOR AMERICAN OBSERVER BY JOHNSON

## ITS GROWTH



DRAWN FOR AMERICAN OBSERVER BY WILLIAMS

IN 16 YEARS, number of member countries has almost doubled. Sierra Leone became No. 100, and Syria recently became the 101st member.

## United Nations

(Concluded from page 5)

power in the House of Representatives. In the UN, the equality among all nations in the Assembly is offset by the greater power of the big countries—with their veto—in the Security Council. We can amply protect our interests through our special position in the latter body.

Because Russia and certain other lands do not pay their share of expenses, let us not be tempted to be equally petty about financial matters. The cost to each American for UN activities (including the regular budget, the specialized agencies, the Congo and Middle East operations, and other undertakings) during 1961 is about \$1.07. Where could one find a better bargain?

—By HOWARD SWEET

### Leading Figures in World Organization

Mongi Slim, 53, has the difficult task of presiding over the General Assembly during one of the most critical years of that organization's history. A veteran Tunisian diplomat, Mr. Slim will serve as president of the Assembly for the 1961-1962 year.

Adlai Stevenson, 61, is chief spokesman for Uncle Sam at the current UN session, and is seeking support there for our global views. The onetime governor of Illinois, who unsuccessfully ran for the U. S. Presidency in 1952 and again in 1956, is widely known and respected by world leaders. He has traveled to many parts of the globe and has written several books and articles about his journeys.

Sir Patrick Dean, 52, is presenting Britain's views to the UN and is working closely with Mr. Stevenson on issues before the world body. A lawyer by training, Sir Patrick entered the British Foreign Service during World War II. He became his country's top UN delegate in the fall of 1960.

Armand Bérard, 57, speaks for France at the Assembly meetings, and is striving to prevent UN action on independence for Algeria—a problem which he insists France is working out satisfactorily with her African possession. A veteran diplomat, Mr. Bérard took over his United Nations post during the spring of 1959.

Valerian Zorin, 59, has been Moscow's top UN representative since the fall of 1960. In the early weeks of the current session, he took a back seat as Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko spoke for Russia and also met with American leaders on the Berlin issue. Mr. Zorin has been in the Soviet diplomatic service since 1941.

Tingfu Tsiang, 66, has been the leading spokesman for Nationalist China in the UN since 1948. He now faces mounting opposition to his country's determined efforts to keep Red China from becoming a member of the United Nations. Up to now, the Nationalist government of Taiwan has been the only spokesman for the Chinese people in the UN.



# The Story of the Week

## Investigation of Election Spending

Can our election campaign costs be reduced? Do individuals and groups that contribute most heavily to campaign funds receive political "favors" in return for their gifts?

These and many other questions concerning our election races will be studied by a new bipartisan commission. The study group, established recently by President Kennedy, will also seek ways in which more Americans will be able to share in footing the bill for election campaigns.

Incidentally, a record of more than \$25,000,000 was spent in the Presidential race of 1960, according to the Brookings Institution. This private economic research group estimates that an additional \$175,000,000 was spent by state and local candidates last year.

## Burmese Official May Get New UN Role

U Thant, 51-year-old UN representative from Burma, is being considered for the post of Secretary-General to fill the remainder of the late Dag Hammarskjöld's term of office which expires in April of 1963. Mr. Hammarskjöld's death last month was followed by bitter East-West wrangling over the leadership of the UN (see main article). U Thant, who has spent much of his adult life in public service in his country, has represented Burma in the UN since 1951.



U Thant

## Students Who CARE—Montgomery Blair High

Students in a poorly equipped school in Panama can now have a better education, thanks to a big-hearted high school in Silver Spring, Maryland. The school is Montgomery Blair High. It has more than 2,200 students who provided equipment for the Panama school as their CARE project for the year.

Montgomery Blair has cared for people of other lands since 1947 when the students first started their Welfare Committee. Since that time, they have aided orphans in Korea, fishermen in Ceylon, refugees in Germany, hospitals in Colombia, students in Greece, and many other people around the globe. During the past 15 years, Montgomery Blair has contributed nearly \$30,000 to CARE—a record amount for a single school, so far as is known.

In addition to CARE, the school during this period has given over \$20,000 to the United Givers Fund, Red Cross, Foster Parents Plan, Crusade for Freedom, and many other relief agencies. Each year the Welfare Committee collects large amounts of used clothing and



STAFF PHOTO BY JULIAN E. CARABALLO

**IN MARYLAND, Montgomery Blair High School sponsors big welfare programs.** Shown here are Meryl Pearlman (left), program chairman now, and former chairman Karen Hayes (see story).

canned goods for community needs.

Montgomery Blair's Welfare Committee is strictly a volunteer group. Students pledge how much money they will be able to give and then decide how it will be spent. Contributions average around 20 to 25 cents a month for each student. They say "that's only 2 cokes or an ice cream soda—not much to give up to help needy people."

## Will Labor Giants Battle over Members?

A major battle may be in the offing between the nation's biggest labor organization—the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations—and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The latter union, which was expelled from AFL-CIO a few years ago because of alleged corruption, is headed by James Hoffa. In a recent AFL-CIO conference, a proposal to re-admit Mr. Hoffa's union into the national labor organization was turned down on grounds that the Teamsters still have not rid themselves of corrupt leadership.

Now AFL-CIO is encouraging truck drivers and other Teamster members to join the national labor group, and break away from Mr. Hoffa's union. But the Teamsters say they will not only fight to keep their present membership, but will also encourage other workers to join their union. Hence, there are likely to be some bitter battles between the 2 groups in months to come.

## Malaya Prepares for Important Meeting

Last year, a farmer in Malaya greatly increased the harvest of rice from his paddy. In Thailand, another rice farmer also had a bumper crop in the past year. Both men were able to increase production of that important food crop because of technical assistance from abroad provided by the Colombo Plan.

The Colombo Plan was organized in 1950 by Britain and other Commonwealth countries to help improve living conditions in Southeast Asia. The idea was named after Colombo, Ceylon, because that is where the first meeting of the group took place.

Over the years, a number of nations, including the United States, joined the plan. Today, in addition to the United States and Britain, members include Australia, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Laos, Japan, Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, and South Viet Nam, plus certain British Pacific colonies.

Member countries are generally divided into 2 groups: those who receive outside help and those who contribute funds and technical know-how to others. Certain members contribute as well as receive aid. For the most part, Asian members of the plan receive help, while the other nations are donors.

Now representatives from all



DRAWN FOR AMERICAN OBSERVER BY JOHNSON  
**DUTCH NEW GUINEA**, long a major bone of contention between Indonesia and the Netherlands

Colombo Plan nations are on their way for another annual meeting, which will be held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya. There, they will discuss new ways to fight disease, grow better crops, and launch badly needed industries in underdeveloped member lands. The talks begin October 30 and are scheduled to continue until November 18.

## UN Debates Future Of West New Guinea

The United Nations is now discussing a Dutch proposal to let the global body decide West New Guinea's future. A growing number of UN members, including Pakistan and some other Asian lands, favor this plan. The Netherlands wants the UN to supervise West New Guinea and conduct elections there when the world organization feels inhabitants are ready for self-rule.

Indonesia, which became independent of Dutch rule in 1949, opposes UN supervision of West New Guinea. Indonesians, who call the area *West Irian*, say the island became theirs when the Netherlands granted them freedom. But the Dutch insist that West New Guinea is a separate colony and not part of the island group that became Indonesia.

West New Guinea is the western half of the giant island of New Guinea. (Australia controls the eastern half of the territory.) With an area of 160,618 square miles, the colony is a little larger than California. Many of its estimated 700,000 inhabitants live under extremely primitive conditions, eking out a living by hunting for food or growing a few meager crops. The land is rich in timber, petroleum, nickel, and other natural resources.

## 22nd Congress of Russian Communists

It may be some time before we know whether or not there will be changes in Soviet policies as a result of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party in Russia. The Red get-together, held in a new hall within the fortress-like Kremlin where many Soviet government offices are located, opened its session

(Concluded on page 8)

## THE LIGHTER SIDE

The lawyer was being extremely sarcastic to the witness: "You say that you were 35 feet away from the scene. Just how far can you see clearly?" "Well," said the witness, "when I wake up in the morning I can see the sun, and they tell me that's about 93,000,000 miles away."

★

The only person who ever got his work done by Friday was Robinson Crusoe.

★

Woman, watching football game in pouring rain, to her husband: "This is probably another one of my silly questions, but why don't we go home?"

★

At a recent minor-league ball game, someone in the crowd called an umpire a knucklehead. The man in blue raced over to the stands. "Whoever said that, stand up!" he shouted. Everyone in the ball park rose to his feet.

★

Jack Carter tells the story about his friend whose son came home from school and said, "Dad, I'm having trouble with my homework. How can I improve my study habits?"

The father said, "Don't worry, son—into each life some rain must fall. But

remember, every cloud must have a silver lining."

And the kid says, "How do you like that? I ask for some advice, and he gives me a weather report."

★

Husband: Dear, I have tickets for the theatre.

Wife: Splendid. I'll start dressing at once.

Husband: Yes, do. The tickets are for tomorrow night.



BOB TUPPER

"Did you take this little boy's ball?"

# Story of the Week

(Concluded from page 7)

last week and is expected to continue through October 25.

Communist Party officials from all parts of the Soviet Union and abroad are at the parley. They are reporting on farm production, factory output, and general economic conditions over the past year. They are also getting orders from the top Red bosses on what projects to undertake in the coming 12 months.

At this year's Communist Party meeting, Premier Khrushchev will tell how he thinks Russia can overtake the United States in the production of steel, food, and many other items within the next decade or so. We in America are determined that this shall not happen. So far as food output is concerned, Russia is having a hard time at present in producing enough to feed her people, whereas we have large surpluses. It is widely felt among U.S. leaders that, if we keep alert and adopt wise policies, our nation can keep ahead of Russia in both agriculture and industry.

## Ukrainians Honor Taras Shevchenko

We have received a number of requests to mention the celebration of the Taras Shevchenko Centennial in 1961. The name of Taras Shevchenko probably is not familiar to many Americans, but it is revered and honored by Ukrainians the world over. For the noted Ukrainian poet and freedom fighter, who died just 100 years ago, devoted his life to independence for his land.

The Ukraine, which is now part of the Soviet Union, has long had active independence movements among its people. Many persons of Ukrainian descent, in the United States and elsewhere, are still looking forward to the day when their ancient homeland can again be free.

The Ukraine was a large nation many centuries ago, and was part of the giant Polish-Lithuanian Empire until the late 1600's. From that time until 1793, Russia gobbled up the Ukraine one chunk at a time.

A new independent Ukrainian government was established in 1917 when czarist rule was overthrown in Russia. But a short time later, the Reds overran the land and they have controlled the Ukraine ever since.

## This and That About World Organization

More women delegates than ever before are present in the current General Assembly session. There are 49 women representing 36 countries in the UN body. Many of the feminine leaders, such as Golda Meir of Israel, hold important posts at home. Mrs. Meir is Foreign Minister of her country.

America's delegation to the world body is headed by Adlai Stevenson. Other full delegates this year include Democratic Representative Omar Burleson of Texas; Republican Representative Marguerite Church of Illinois; Arthur Dean, who conducted American talks with Russia on banning nuclear tests;

Francis Plimpton, deputy United States representative to the UN.

The global organization has its own post office and issues its own stamps. The stamps can be used only on letters mailed at the world body's headquarters. But most of the UN stamps, rather than being used for mailing purposes, are bought and saved by collectors.

## Laos and New Premier Face Uncertain Future

Can Laos establish a stable government under its new Premier? Or will the tiny Southeast Asian land continue to be troubled by internal strife and chaos? How strong will the communist influence be in the new government?

These are some of the questions being asked in western capitals as Laos organizes a government under the leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma. Agreement on the new Premier ends—for the time being, at least—a long-standing fight for power among 3 rival factions in Laos. One is the "neutral" group of the new Premier; another is a pro-western faction headed by Prince Boun Oum; and a third is made up of Reds under the leadership of Prince Souphanouvong.

The new government being organized by Premier Souvanna Phouma is made up of representatives from all 3 factions. Hence, there is constant danger that one of the rival groups—particularly the Reds—may stir up new trouble and seek to gain power for itself.

Meanwhile, western-Soviet talks in Geneva, Switzerland, on the future of Laos, are still deadlocked. The 2 sides have been discussing plans for a special police force to prevent a renewal of fighting between Reds and anti-communists.

## General Taylor Is On a Vital Mission

Because of mounting communist pressure in Southeast Asia, President Kennedy has sent General Maxwell Taylor on a study trip to that part of the globe to help the threatened lands bolster their defenses against the Reds. While



**SOUVANNA PHOUMA** is trying to organize a government in troubled Southeast Asian land—Laos



**GENERAL Maxwell Taylor**, who is studying the situation in Southeast Asia for President Kennedy

General Taylor will be primarily concerned with ways of halting the growing communist assaults against South Viet Nam, he will also seek to strengthen defenses against communism in Laos and elsewhere.

General Taylor, 61, is military adviser to President Kennedy. The General is a specialist in the kind of "hit-and-run" warfare that the communists have been waging in Southeast Asia, and he has been working on plans to combat such tactics.

While on his mission to Southeast Asia, General Taylor is expected to study the overall needs of the threatened lands there in their battle against communism. These include the need for more economic and military aid, including the possibility of sending American troops to help them put down Red attacks.

## Main Articles in Next Week's Issue

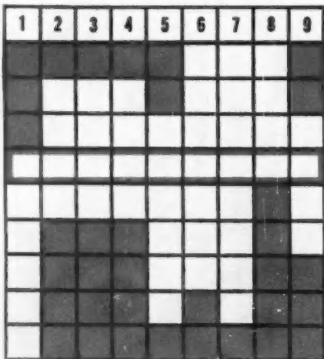
In the next issue, main articles will deal with: (1) Which issues relating to communism are legitimate topics of pro-and-con discussion, and which ones are not? (2) The Alliance for Progress program in Latin America.

### Pronunciations

Andrei Gromyko—än-drä' grō-mī'kō  
Armand Bérard—är-mānh' bā-rär'  
Boun Oum—bōn ōm  
Golda Meir—gōl'dā mē-ir  
Mongi Slim—mōn'jee slim  
Souphanouvong—sō-pān'uh-vōng  
Souvanna Phouma—sō-vān'uh pō-mā  
Tingfu Tsiang—teng-fōo jyāng  
U Thant—ōō thānt  
Valerian Zorin—vā-lē'rī-ān zō'rēn

## GEOGRAPHICAL PUZZLE

Fill in numbered rows according to descriptions given below. When all are correctly finished, heavy rectangle will spell a geographical area.



- Switzerland's well-known international city.
- The Swiss capital.
- This canal connects the North Sea with the Baltic.
- Famous canal of the Middle East.
- Capital of Turkey.
- Island country in the North Atlantic.
- Capital of Syria.
- Capital of West Germany.
- Gulf at southern end of the Red Sea.

### Last Week

HORIZONTAL: Roosevelt. VERTICAL: 1. Harrison; 2. Polk; 3. Taylor; 4. Madison; 5. Delano; 6. Hoover; 7. Jefferson; 8. Coolidge; 9. Taft.

## NEWS QUIZ

### United Nations

- How did the death of Dag Hammarskjöld last month create serious troubles for the UN?
- When and where was the UN Charter drawn up?
- Why is the General Assembly so important?
- Give the main reason why the Security Council hasn't been able to carry out its work successfully.
- With what general goal is the Economic and Social Council concerned?
- What does the Trusteeship Council do?
- Under what circumstances are nations bound by World Court decisions?
- Explain what the Secretariat is. What official heads it?
- List several areas where the UN has stepped in to try to create law and order.
- What are the major issues confronting the United Nations this fall?
- What is the inspection issue on which a disarmament agreement seems to hinge?
- Why can't the Security Council veto be used to keep Red China out of the United Nations?
- For what reason has Russia opposed the Congo operation?
- Why is the financial position of the UN so serious?
- What points do critics of the UN make in reviewing its record?
- Summarize the arguments put forth by supporters of the global organization.

### Discussion

- What do you consider to be the most urgent problem confronting the UN? Why?
- How do you think the international organization could be made more effective in dealing with global problems? Explain.
- Do you believe the United States should continue its membership in the world body? Give reasons.

### Miscellaneous

- For what purpose is the Communist Party meeting in Moscow?
- Troubled Laos recently agreed on a new Premier. Who is he?
- If the Netherlands has its way, what will become of West New Guinea?
- Name the 2 big labor groups that may become involved in a battle over union members.
- Identify: Adlai Stevenson; Mongi Slim; Sir Patrick Dean; Valerian Zorin.

### References

"A Voice of Hope in a Time of Terror," *Newsweek*, October 2.  
"United Nations: Can It Survive?" *Look*, October 10.  
*United Nations Review*, recent issues. (This monthly magazine is the official publication of the UN.)



